

PEACE NEWS

No. 490 November 2, 1945 2d.

SAVE EUROPE NOW

Sir Arthur or Sir Ben?

An Albert Hall meeting in support of "Save Europe Now" will be held on Monday, November 26, with an eminent all-party platform.

VERY different views of available food resources were given by Sir Arthur Salter and the Minister for Food, when the resolution on conditions of Europe, mentioned in last week's Peace News, came before the Commons.

Sir Arthur Salter said that if, as was now probable, millions during this winter freeze and starve, it would not be the inevitable consequence of material destruction and world shortage. Undamaged mines were sufficient to produce all the coal that was wanted; the needs of transport could be met by motor lorries and there were ample stocks of wheat. Moreover the extra importations of meat required by Europe were not greater than the amount by which the civilian consumption across the Atlantic exceeded the standard of pre-war consumption. There was also ample sea-going cargo tonnage.

Sir Arthur suggested as of first importance renewed representations on mass removals, and appeals to USA to expedite the acquisition of supplies by UNRRA. Strikes had made it more difficult to press for the release of any British civilian stocks, but he suggested that as obstacles to regular import were removed the Government might make such contributions.

Mr. Michael Foot said that those persons who deny the appeals of humanity towards German women and children were not likely to be the best champions of humanity towards other people. Nothing in the Motion suggested the German should take a place in the queue ahead of our Allies. But they protested against the wanton and deliberate creation of a new sore, when Europe was crying out from her wounds.

Mr. Ernest Bevin said he sometimes thought that the spiritual hunger in Europe was more devastating even than physical hunger.

In his view, if we could get strategy and spheres of influence out of the picture, nothing could do more towards rehabilitation than the setting up of Commissions for the Oder, the Rhine, the Elbe and the Danube. As far as the Rhine was concerned they had done their best.

Miss Eleanor Rathbone asked "a terrible question": "Whether this enormous mortality is regarded as a catastrophe by those who are mainly responsible for bringing it about? Or is it an orgy of vengeance or conceivably part of a planned policy?" She asked for the kind of moral courage which enables Governments to speak to their own people and to foreign Governments with perfect frankness, even at the risk of unpopularity.

In his reply the Minister of Food, Sir Ben Smith, denied the existence of adequate supplies and said in almost all main foods they were facing deficiencies for the next twelve months. But questioned by Sir Arthur Salter, he agreed with the statement about meat consumption. If there were any surpluses when he has restored our own cuts the House would know that he was "not an unkindly person." Whatever there was, however, would be distributed only in the British zone in Germany and Austria. He could not hope to make any contribution to the larger problem.

RUSSIA IS STORING UP TROUBLE

HOW dearly one would like to do what some of our correspondents would like us to do: turn away our eyes from high policy and the relations of Big Three, which are so desperately depressing and concentrate on "doing something." What is the best thing one can do for the future of humanity at the present moment? The chief object of every enlightened Englishman's endeavour must surely be to do what he can to enable the German people to live and not die.

Therefore he must strengthen the will of the British Government to resist the truly fearful demands which, according to a Reuter report (Manchester Guardian, Oct. 26), Russia is making on the industrial equipment of the British zone. Those demands must be rejected with a forthright "No." They are based upon a wicked perversion of the Potsdam agreement, which provided that Russia should have 25 per cent. of the capital equipment of the other zones after the Germans had been secured a standard of life not exceeding that of other European countries. It will require every scrap of the pre-war industrial equipment of the non-Russian zones, working to capacity, to offset the ruthless spoliation East of the Elbe sufficiently to enable the German people to live at all—even after the decimation they will suffer during the coming winter.

American jumble

IT will not be easy for Britain to stand firm. The American insanity of the "pastoralisation" of Germany has by no means been eradicated. It is jumbled up in the American mind with its prejudice against cartels, whereby Big Business inserts its nefarious purpose of eliminating Germany as a commercial competitor into the confused idealism of the typical American. While the results of the French elections promise such a condition of political paralysis that de Gaulle will have the predominant influence on French policy. There is as yet no solid evidence that de Gaulle is other than a short-sighted and fanatical Chauvinist. His apparent advocacy of closer Western Union is so far only a cover for the dismember-

Observer's Commentary

ment of Germany. The omens of French policy are frankly bad. They point to something worse than Poincarism.

"In France it is not only the unduly cynical or the unduly pessimistic who remember Louis Napoleon and are setting an apprehensive question-mark against the future." (Economist, Oct. 27.)

Britain is likely to get no positive support from USA, and downright opposition from France, to its policy of keeping Germany alive.

Russians "impressed"

EVEN Mr. Kalinin (President of the USSR) has admitted that soldiers returned from Germany "were to a certain extent impressed by German culture." (Times, Oct. 26). According to the Manchester Guardian (Oct. 25) the discontent is a serious factor.

"The impact of the West on the Russian soldier... has produced a political problem for the Government at home. Even British soldiers in Germany have compared favourably some of the housing standards they have seen in the land they have conquered with the inadequate houses they and their families possess in England. The amazement of the Russian soldier at what he has seen in the West and his ultimate discontent with his own living conditions are many times greater."

Add to this the following report of conditions East of the Elbe:

"Paradoxically enough, in spite of their fear and dejection, the Germans in the Russian zone are regaining something of their habitual feeling of superiority. They look with some irony at striking Russian examples of inefficiency and bungling. They stare with amazement and amusement at Russian soldiers tossing dismantled precision tools or delicate pieces of optical machinery into lorries like sacks of potatoes. And they notice with per-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

AFTER AUTUMN...

BELOW is a summary of the PPU autumn appeal recently sent out. No doubt many readers of Peace News, who are not regular subscribers to the funds of the Union, will wish to send a special donation towards the work at a time when our thoughts turn in gratitude to Dick Sheppard (See page 4) and those who have carried on his work.

DEAR Friend,

When our Autumn appeal was sent out a year ago the PPU had just suffered grievous loss through the death of Maurice Rowntree. Since then we have been appointed to carry on his work for our Cause as best we are able.

It is our aim to emphasise the positive aspect of our pacifist principles. The Pledge to renounce war is but a starting point. We believe that there are many ready to hear our message to-day whom we can help to understand and become consciously faithful to the voice of truth in their hearts.

The PPU constitutes the vanguard of the organised Peace Movement in this country, perhaps throughout the world. With the close of hostilities we may anticipate greater acceptance and facilities for our message, and a steadily widening development of our work on international lines.

We believe that the period of reconstruction, upon which we hope the world is now entering, will open up for us fresh opportunities. We want to be worthy friends of all who look to us for guidance. After the last war the pacifists had the joy of welcoming to their fellowship some outstanding personalities as well as a great accession of strength to their rank and file. Amongst the former was Dick Sheppard, the founder of the PPU. We look now with confidence for new life and new leaders to meet the challenge of the new age.

Will you please help our funds at this critical time? Most of our members are people of small means whose incomes have diminished, often drastically, often voluntarily through the war years. We hope confidently for your generous response.

MAUD ROWNTREE.

CORDER CATCHPOOL.

Donations marked "Autumn Appeal: Peace News" should be sent to the Treasurers, PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

... and the plight of France

"In France," says Howard Kershner, "I have found a greater depth of misery and a more appalling task of reconstruction, physical and moral, than exists in any of the countries I have visited." Peace News has criticized the apathy of France. Here is an important diagnosis of its causes.

I HEAR much complaint that the French are not working and trying to help themselves as they should. It is true, but those who find fault have not taken the trouble to find the reason for the lamentable condition.

I found it today in talking with a small manufacturer in Givors, who employs 100 men. He says his men are so weak from five years of severe undernourishment that they do less now in 8 hours than they formerly did in four. I asked him if he were sure they were doing their best. He replied:

"Yes, they have been with us a long time and have always been faithful and loyal. I am sure they are doing all they can, but they have all lost weight, ten to twenty-five pounds; they have little energy and are easily fatigued."

That is the answer and before the people of France are criticized too severely these facts should be known.

People tell me that the Germans are working and the French are loafing. The answer is that until the past few months the Germans have had plenty to eat. No wonder they are strong for they have eaten the food that belonged to the French. The latter have been weakened by five years of starvation diet. Their energy has been sapped; their reserve gone. They deserve understanding and help and not criticism. I have seen them in the shops and mills and construction gangs and I know they are far below normal in energy: one small

portion of meat a week—a diet almost devoid of proteins and fats. The wonder is they are able to do as much as they do.

We stood at the end of the corridor of the second floor of what was left of a school building in Marseilles. There were gaping holes in the roof overhead. To one side half clothed men were repairing a class-room. At the moment I stopped, two of them were nailing strips of grass matting to the ceiling as a substitute for lath. I wondered if it would hold the plaster that two other men were mixing. I noted the slowness of their motions, their evident fatigue, and the effort required to continue working.

THE MARK OF FIVE YEARS

I knew they had eaten only bread and coloured water for breakfast as I myself had done and I knew their lunch baskets contained only bread and possibly a tomato or a turnip. I knew furthermore that they had existed on this type of fare, and often with much less bread than now, for five years. No wonder they were underweight and lacking in energy. For years, also, they had lived in constant fear of being seized by the Germans and sent into slave labour or tortured or possibly shot as hostages. Millions of Frenchmen have suffered this fate and all have lived in fear of it.

Five years of fear, worry, starvation, cold and lack of clothing have left their mark upon the people of this unhappy country. Their many faults, black-marketing, thieving and political wrangling can all be traced to these five years of suffering.

I am often asked why France is in worse condition than the other occupied countries of Western Europe. There are many reasons. First, she burdened her economy by hospitably receiving half a million refugees from Spain a year before the war. Second, her economic life was further deranged by the sending of half a million evacuees from Alsace-Lorraine into Southern and Western France in September 1939. Third, in May 1940, five million people from Holland, Belgium and Northern France rushed into the Southern and Western part of France and promptly ate all the food reserves, besides adding immensely to the economic disorganization of the country.

Fourth, with great generosity, France also accepted large numbers of refugees from Germany, Austria, Italy and the Balkans. Fifth, for four years the country was divided into two zones, virtually two nations, with strangling effect on her economic life. Sixth, it is more difficult to reorganise and to revive the economy of a nation of 40,000,000 people than one of 8,000,000. Seventh, France had not been well governed for some years before the war and her industrial and financial organisation was not sound. Being weaker, therefore, and much harder hit, it is not surprising that France has suffered much more severely and is in greater need of help than the other occupied countries.

Describing a visit to the schools in Lyons, Kershner says:

FOR two days, I have visited the schools in this city and tried to say some words of cheer as I went from class to class and looked into wan but eager little faces. Most of them were dirty for there is no soap. Nearly all of the children wore frightfully old clothing and much of it was ragged. You ask why their mothers do not mend it? They have, until it falls apart. Then, there are few needles here and when thread can be bought it is so weak as to be almost worthless. Worst of all was the shoes or lack of them.

All day I heard teachers say that the children could not concentrate for more than a few minutes at a time. Their memory is poor. They learn but little and forget most of it the next day. I wish that those who would not let us feed them during the occupation had been forced to accompany me the past two days. I wish they would think about the heavy burden that these subnormal children will have to bear. To reconstruct Europe is perhaps the greatest moral and physical task that modern men have faced. . . . The fate of democracy must be entrusted to these undersized and weakened children.

OUR READERS WRITE OF

Poland's migrants

ON October 19, Observer commented on "an elegant extract from the Polish record" given in another place in the issue, presumably referring to the terrible incidents on page two. How does he know that Poles did it?

Has Observer ever heard that Poland is now ruled by a government chosen by Stalin, that the Polish army has Russian officers? Has he ever heard that it was Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin who made those boundaries by which millions of Germans and Poles are being shifted? Then why hasn't he the courage to put the blame where it belongs? The boundaries were decided over the heads of the Poles, and the Bierut government placed over them against the will of the majority.

The Times of October 24 comments on the Red Army in Poland and reports what some of us have known for some time: that deserters from the Russian army have taken to the woods and have so terrorised the population that strong measures have to be taken to bring them under control.

One finds some consolation in the fact that there are decent English people who writhe with shame when they read such comments as Observer's, which pour slander and abuse on Germany's victims, while they sympathise tenderly with Germans who, without hesitation, turned the Poles out of their homes and took their possessions in 1939. Another point. It is said that eight million Germans fled before the Russian armies out of Poland and what were the eastern territories of Germany. If they are now finding their way into the British and American zones is it a matter for wonder, when the Red Army lives off each country that

it has occupied? Numbers of British service men have been in Poland recently.

E. M. ROSER.

38 Midholm, N.W.11.

THE Germans behaved with quite unrivalled bestiality to the Poles and the Czechs for the plain reason that these were Slav people. They were placed on the very last rung (co-equal with the Jews) of the Nazi race hierarchy.

The bestiality now being meted out to the Germans was taught expertly and thoroughly by the Germans to their present tormentors. That does not excuse it. The fault lies in that no effective police measures are operated by the preponderating power (in this case the Soviet Union; that well known friend of the people of the world).

Secondly, through long years of agonised warfare the Slavs of East Europe have been on excruciatingly short rations; the Germans willed it that way for the most part. That in itself has produced a moral deterioration which should be pitied rather than scorned.

Thirdly, not only were Norwegians and Danes placed, as Nordics, happily high up in the German scheme of racialism but never did they suffer much in the way of food shortages. Even so some of Vikdun Quisling's bright young men could tell Observer a neat thing or two in regard to bestial behaviour. The point is that under "Slav" treatment we have no evidence for supposing that the "Nordics" would emerge from the fire any better than the Slavs. So at all events most of the Danes and Norwegians are only too ready to admit.

HOWARD FOX.

Thornwood, Cross Keys, Sevenoaks, Kent.

"If the record is consulted it will be found that Observer protested at every stage against the decisions to give Poland 'compensation' in the West for its truncating in the East. But he has yet to hear of any protest by any section of the Poles against the brutality of the expulsion of the German population. The reports of correspondents in Berlin are unanimous that it is Poles who are responsible for the plundering of this hapless people. The fact that the present Polish government is sponsored and largely controlled by Russia does not absolve the Poles themselves from responsibility for the horrors which they have perpetrated. It is no excuse to say the Germans did the same. The Poles claim to be superior in civilization and humanity to the Germans."—Observer.

PEACE NEWS

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Moral leadership

IT is no small thing in these days to hear a Foreign Minister speak like a human being. Mr. Bevin did this in last Friday's debate on the terrible plight of Europe, where (he estimated) 25 million homeless and undernourished people are wandering about with little hope of food or shelter. Not only was Mr. Bevin's description of the situation more vivid than any we have been given before. "Nobody but the Russians," he said, "knew how many Germans had gone from Germany to work in Russia. So, as people moved into the Western zone one got an overwhelming majority of women and children but no men. That was a terrific problem to be faced." It is the first time that this characteristic of the migration has been brought home to us.

"When I came out of Berlin to go to the airport there were as many refugees going out of Berlin as were going in. It was a pathetic sight to see the stream of perambulators and little vehicles filing along—nearly all women and children and very few men. One could not help saying: 'My God! This is the price of man's stupidity—of war.' It was the most awful sight one could see."

Even if Mr. Bevin could do nothing more than he is doing now to alleviate this mass of human misery, we should be profoundly grateful to him for having spoken thus. For nothing like it has been heard from any of the world's statesmen since the war began.

Not only was there in Mr. Bevin's speech a warmth of humanity for which we have waited hungrily for years; but there was a degree of understanding of the realities of the world economic situation to which we are totally unaccustomed.

"For instance, he would like to see much less wheat being fed to livestock in North America and more maize and other feeding stuffs shipped from South America. But here we had a difficulty. There were great political differences in regard to Argentina. His information was that Argentina was burning maize for fuel because she could not get oil. If we could put the heavy oil and fuel into Argentina and take the maize from Argentina for the United States, Canada and ourselves, and then divert the wheat to the people of Europe it would be a perfectly

commonsense thing to do. But politics intervened."

Who ever heard British Foreign Secretaries talk such realities before? If they had talked like that before the war, the war itself might never have been.

The debate to which Mr. Bevin's was necessarily the outstanding contribution was of a very high order. It gave one the sense that this country, which has definitely ceased to be one of the political leaders of the world, may yet make good a claim to its moral leadership—in spite of Sir Ben Smith's negations. And though we dare not hope that Mr. Bevin's appeal to Russia will have any concrete result, it is a source of real satisfaction that it has been made.

"Whatever we have to settle in our future relationships let us use every economic resource we have to stop the ordinary man and woman who is not a party to this quarrel from suffering and starving."

There is no doubt that the will to "save Europe now" is alive in Mr. Bevin. There is, alas, hardly less doubt that the will to destroy Europe is alive in the leaders of Russia. To this inhuman end has come the inspiration of the Russian Revolution.

Russia will pay for this great betrayal of human hopes. It looks like a Colossus to-day, as it behaves like a Juggernaut. But the vast fabric is insecure. One may prophesy with certainty, that the U.S.S.R., having failed humanity in its hour of crisis, will begin to disintegrate. There is a justice in history. As surely as retribution has overtaken Germany for debasing the moral standards of mankind, so will it overtake Russia. Already within six months of victory, when Russia appeared to stand on the very pinnacle of world-prestige, the great tide of world-opinion has begun to ebb away from Russia. Millions of common men and women who believed in the Red Star in the East have ceased to believe in it. The loss of faith in Russia, she will find to be a heavy price to pay for making herself impregnable behind a desert.

It has occupied? Numbers of British service men have been in Poland recently.

Honest criticism

The recent analyses of foreign affairs in Observer's commentaries are probably more searching, and no doubt some degrees nearer the truth, perhaps even impartially than the general run of political commentaries of the day. Yet as a biased reader (pro-humanity I hope) I cannot help feeling that if and when this country becomes ultimately at war with Soviet Russia, Observer will rank high in the list of writers who have stimulated suspicion of, and hatred against the Russians. Should the catastrophe of such a war occur, I should hesitate to conclude that, atomic energy allowing, Observer would sit back complacently and say "I told you so." The spirit of his writings, at times, certainly suggests that this is possible.

If freedom is to be a reality in this world, an urgent need will always be for honest criticism (its target especially not excluding ourselves, the representatives of Soviet Russia, or even the New Statesman), if there are those with the rare combination of human understanding, assurance, and humility to deliver it. But is it too much to ask that what appears to be the main feature in a pacifist paper, be tempered with that philosophy, of which pacifism is a part, and which, unless my heart and mind mislead me I understand to be intimately connected with love?

S. J. HAYWARD.

Leighterton, Tetbury, Glos.

These atoms!

CLARE BOOTH is reported as saying: "The trouble is that 90 per cent. of the people would rather be dead than sensible." Capt. J. R. White makes the contrast one between being dead and being "supersensible." I may share some of Capt. White's intuitions, but I incline to Clare Booth's conclusion. If we become bored with the rational, it is, I think, our own fault for wanting our intuitions to serve as conclusions rather than as points of departure. All discovery starts in intuition, but if the scientist were satisfied with the intrinsic satisfaction of mere thought he would not work to demonstrate to others intuitions which he can already conceive and contemplate. I am not bored with human reason and I do not expect to be so long as I can find intuitions worth the labour of exploration. That labour is precisely the labour of turning an intuition into a workable premises, and I do not think humanity will fail of its ecstasy if it really faces that task. The direct search for the "supersensible" so easily leads through incoherent romanticism to cynical despair.

ALAN STANILAND.

62, Worcester-crescent, London, N.W.7.

Bellicose people

YOUR correspondent, N. Holliday, has rung the bell with a loud clang, when he writes, "the people is largely responsible for nourishing and sustaining war."

That of course is the truth. Otherwise how do we account for the thrill of united action, the complete oneness of the national mentality and the rush "to be in something." Some time ago an American author discovered the same thing, that it was the "people" who supplied the impetus to war. He described war as "A rodeo, a circus, a religious revival, a fascinating game, in fact everything which can thrill and gladden the human heart."

Until people are taught that war is vulgar, sinful, and a sign of downright wickedness we shall always have wars, every generation. Bad leaders could never dupe good people. That is a very unfortunate fact and we will have to put up with it.

The people are without doubt fond of the thrill of war, especially the non-combatants, who enjoy all the dangers in a vicarious sense. At the beginning of the war a spinster said to me, "I should love to hear a bomb drop, at a distance of course." It did not matter that a dozen families lay dead and maimed as a result of that beautiful dull thump which made the old wretch thrill, the same kind of terrifying pleasure that so many experience when going through "The Haunted House" at the Pleasure Park, feeling the fear with the assurance of safety.

To my mind the general mass of the people during the war has revealed the dark side of human nature. The "people," as your correspondent asserts, are not interested in the cause of the war, or its aims, only the excitement. Had they been interested in the aim of the war, a national shout would have rolled to Heaven when Poland was betrayed.

HENRY BARRATT.

135, Padfield Main-road, Hadfield, Manchester.

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Something tangible

The picture of Germany this winter is such a terrible one that surely for the sake only of future international harmony and friendship we should do something tangible for the children.

We could fly hundreds of our own men—ex-prisoners of war—home daily.

Why not a generous gesture now to the next generation of Germans? Let us take them in our homes for the winter. My wife and I will have two of them if it can be arranged. How many more such offers would follow the publicity of your column?

T. FRANKLIN.

3 St. Edmund's Road, Edmonton, N.9.

Three miles of lorries

We are told that not only food but transport to distribute food is lacking in Central Europe. We have even been told that the transport is more lacking than the food.

Travelling up to Shrewsbury in September, we passed lines of completed lorries, unjacked rotting on their tyres, along the roadway parallel to the railroad. By myself and fellow passengers these lorries were estimated to take up three to four miles of road. Someone said letters had already been sent to the Press; I do not know, I have seen none.

(Mrs.) J. BARTHOLOMEW.

Rimpton House, Rimpton, Yeovil.

Who reduced Germany?

I have just been re-reading your "SAVE EUROPE NOW APPEAL" to which I have already gladly responded.

May I offer one word of criticism re the wording of that appeal? At the end you mention the state to which Hitler has reduced his "Master Race," etc. To all those who remember the state to which Germany was reduced after the last war and saw it after Hitler had been in power five years, it is (were it not so tragic) laughable to speak of Hitler "reducing" Germany to anything.

When one remembers how he reduced poverty and unemployment in one year and raised the standard of living and remembers (no matter the real causes of the war) that after all it was England which declared war on Germany, why lay all the blame for present conditions on one side? When one remembers his "Peace Proposals," tantamount to surrender, to which we responded with "Unconditional Surrender" how can we blame only Hitler?

V. FOSS.

c/o Shalden Lodge, Nr. Alton, Hampshire.

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REVIVALIST

*In Derek's town before the war,
Signatories flocked in by the score
But then the group went down to four,
So Derek went from door to door.*



Checked the "moved, dead, dis-
affected"
Or "Ministry of Lab. directed"



Contacted those who war rejected,
And thus the group was resurrected.



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Further information from: General Secretary, P.P.U., Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

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"People still matter"

CORDER CATCHPOOL takes heart from the Conway Hall

RECENT reports of the mass expulsions from Eastern Germany present what must be one of the most terrible tragedies of human suffering ever enacted, comparable in cruelty to that suffered by the Jews of Europe, and even greater in extent.

Now we have, I think, an answer to the oft-repeated question, "Why did the German people allow that disaster to the Jews to happen?" The answer is, "Why do we allow this one to happen to the Germans?" We don't know, and don't want to know, and feel we can't do much when we do know. There is, however, this difference: Whereas to rescue the Jews meant risking death, to help the Germans means making a small sacrifice of our own food supplies.

That there are people in this country who are nevertheless determined not to let the effort for relief go by default was made manifest at the Conway Hall on October 8. The meeting was so well reported in Peace News that there would be no justification for my referring to it again here solely for the purpose of drawing further attention to the "SAVE EUROPE NOW" campaign.

Another aspect

But I am anxious that another aspect of the Conway Hall meeting should not be overlooked. It was the most inspiring event I have experienced for many years, years throughout which a process of moral deterioration has been at work. Hope had begun to die in me, and faith—not faith in the principles of our Christian civilisation, but in the power of the world to recover them. This gathering called us to awareness not only of imminent human catastrophe between Elbe and Oder, and for an effort of relief commensurate with it. It did far more. It called an imperative halt to the moral landslide. That above all is why for me the meeting was so inspiring. It called faith to life again, courage to hope on—and not alone.

Leading personalities in public life were responsible for the meeting, and the speakers one after another struck a note of moral earnestness in support of an unpopular cause, which showed that all was far from lost. I had been tempted to think that in pursuance of the "war effort" all the high ideals our people once professed, all the things they cared about most, might have been lost beyond recall, because they had ceased to care.

They had not ceased to care! In varying phrase they proclaimed their faith. Back to the old principle that people matter, cried R. H. S. Cross-

man, M.P., pleading that we should care, before it was too late, about the waves of starving humanity driven up and breaking against the barrier of the British zone.

Could we, asked Barbara Ward, condemn many thousands of children to die, forcing upon our soldiers the cruel dilemma of disobeying orders, or of sinking to a level where they accepted brutality as a viable policy? No! We could not practice abroad a different morality from that which we professed at home.

Precious things

Gerald Gardiner of the FAU had seen Belsen before proceeding to Berlin. Such conditions ought not to be tolerated, whatever the individuals have done, whether in Nazi concentration camps, or under British occupation. Lady Violet Bonham-Carter maintained the high level set by earlier speakers. We stood for certain things precious to us; we must be ready to make sacrifices for them. Humanity knew no frontiers. "To do the right thing is the right thing to do," she said, quoting Sir Edward Grey, and urging the Government to take the right course now for the right reason—not expediency but moral principle.

Victor Gollancz in his brief closing words illustrated the ebbing of morality which the war had brought about by citing broadcasts of the BBC. He condemned their repudiation, or at best their shame-faced acceptance, of the sympathy motif—the poor excuse that if we help starving German people it is not that we care about their starving, but because disease is a menace to British troops.

"THINGS CAN'T GO ON LIKE THIS!" he exclaimed; and, his concluding note, "this meeting may yet save civilisation!" summed up the noble utterances of a noble platform. The editor of a German social democratic paper had come with me to the meeting. I felt so moved when it was over that for a while I could hardly speak. Then I told him how once as I was crossing the German frontier during the Nazi regime, a fellow traveller had said to me at the passport control, "Go down on your knees and thank God you were born a Briton!" I'm not patriotic in the ordinary sense, but I said to my German friend, "Tonight I feel proud to be one." "You may be so," he replied.

Hope was restored again, and faith in a future for mankind. These leading men and women really cared about the principles of Christian civilisation. There were millions of people starving. They were the enemies of yesterday. But they mattered. And there were people who cared. Civilisation might yet be saved!

CHRISTIAN PARTY DEMANDS

The National Committee of the Christian Party has called on the United Nations (1) to free all colonies, including the ex-Italian ones; (2) to end the deportation of Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia; (3) to release all imprisoned under war-time legislation; (4) to demobilize immediately all miners, builders, and those for whom jobs are waiting; and (5) to feed starving Europe.

The Christian Party asks for an "equal standard of nutrition for all human beings in all countries, irrespective of nationality or colour," and to this end urges that "the Armed Forces should now be fed on the same standard as civilians, and that private restaurants and hotels should only receive supplies after all communal needs have been satisfied."

THE SCIENTISTS ARE UNANIMOUS

BRITISH and American atomic scientists have begun to talk. A few publicly, others to politicians and journalists. "They are apparently suffering from something like a guilt complex," wrote Dorothy Thompson, the famous American journalist, in the Observer (Oct. 21).

On two points they seem unanimous: that Russia will not be long in producing an atom bomb, and that talk of defensive methods is nonsense. A "scientist friend" of the B.B.C. American commentator, Clifton Utley, told him that there are at least seven methods of production, and that in general the Russians know them all—"they don't even need brilliant physicists for what is left." (Listener, Oct. 25.)

He estimates 2½ years for developing production, and perhaps an extra six months if America tries to keep its "secrets."

Prof. M. L. E. Oliphant, of Birmingham, who worked with American scientists on the separation of U.235, expects the production of a bomb equivalent to 20,000,000 tons of T.N.T. He demands that the secret shall be thrown open. He reported (New Statesman, Oct. 27) that scientists who had worked on the bomb "voted unanimously" against its use unannounced against Japan.

Especially interesting is the view of one of Dorothy Thompson's informants that U.S. War Department accusations of Japanese exaggeration are false. He estimates that within a half-mile radius all wounds will be finally fatal as a result of radiations from actual fragments of the bomb.

"Americans," says Dorothy Thompson, "are astonished at the relative calm of British leaders and Press."

JOHN DEMPSEY

COUNCILLOR JOHN DEMPSEY, of Rothwell, who died suddenly at his home on October 21, will be particularly remembered by readers of Peace News as the Independent Christian candidate for Kettering in the general election.

He was a conscientious objector during the 1914-18 war, and had ever since been known in his district for his firm advocacy of pacifist and Christian principles.

Many tributes testify to his wide interests in social work, and to the inspiration given by his personal friendship.

Mrs. Annie Fisher, of Kew Gardens, Surrey, who died last month at the age of 77, was an internationalist and pacifist worker for the greater part of her life. As a member of the No More War Movement, and later of the P.P.U., she was active in open-air meetings and demonstrations until quite recent years.

She was a keen Esperantist and had attended many international conferences.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

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ACCOMMODATION

REQUIRED URGENTLY preferably in Cambridge unfurnished. hse. or flat. A. Clarke, 114 Blinco Grve., Cambridge.

CAN ANYONE offer young couple, baby, un/part furnishd. accomdn. within reach Barnet. Gibson, "Meadway," Sherwood Ave., Potters Bar.

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FOR SALE & WANTED

WANTED BADMINTON and other indoor sports equip. for Youth Club. R. Allison, Ashfield, Debenham, Suffolk.

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

ROOTS, SHOES, rprs. (by skilled craftsmen), Hoes slippers. Good stocks. Let me quote you free of charge by rtn. for anything you require from a baby's first size to women's eights or men's eights. Ladies' and gentlemen's reliable walking shoes a speciality. Dempsey, Mail Dept., The Shoe Man, Rothwell, Northants.

LITERATURE, &c.

SAVE EUROPE NOW! "Fact Service" No. 20 contains valuable factual data for "Save Europe Now" campaign. 50 copies 3s., 100 copies 5s. Display Posters 3d. each. Also "Save Europe Now" Economy Labels urging relief for Europe: 2s. per 100, 15s. per 1,000. From United Peace Campaign, 48, Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

"UN-COMMON SENSE" for 5d. Vera Brittain, Sarah Lury, Leslie Artington, Duke of Bedford, Arthur Pointer, Lady Gibb, Ruth Fry, Patrick Figgis, Corder Catchpool on "Peace and Atomic Bombs"; John Straight's "Open Letter to Attlee"; Ronald Mallone's International Commentary; Youth Forum; Poetry; Reviews; Attractively illustrated. 30 Darby Road, Oldbury.

WAS St. Paul a Pacifist? The antidote to atoms! A short study of the Apostle's life and writings. Price 6d. (postge. 1d.) from the Rev. C. K. Freer, Oakham, Little Compton, Nr. Moreton-in-Marsh, Glos.

FREEMASONRY exposed by Rev. Penny Hunt, B.A. 100-page bk. containing numerous quotations from masonic lit.; 2s. 8d. From Bk. Sec., 21, Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

MEETINGS, &c.

HAMPSTEAD GROUP. Spkr. Patrick Figgis, Tues., Nov. 6 at 8 p.m. 50, Savernake Rd., N.W.3. (Buses 24, 187 and Hampstead Hth. Trolleys.)

FREDRICK LOHR spks. every Fri. evening at 7.15, the Alliance Hall, Palmer St., Westminster.

LEYTONSTONE PSU concert at Unitarian Church Hall, Lea Bridge Rd., Leyton, Sat., Nov. 10 at 7.30. Special feature: Exhibition illustrating PSU work. All welcome.

PERSONAL

BRINKMAN—Oct. 23, 1945, to Clarice and Leonard Brinkman, a daughter, Janet.

SALDANIA—on Oct. 28, 1945, a daughter (Dorothy Mary) to Dorothy and Sebastian Saldania, of 54, Riverside Drive, Mitcham, Surrey.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Parties, stamp, Sec. PN. 19 Ty Fry Gdns., Rumney, Cardiff.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1., which will often be able to give useful advice.

WANTED married couple. Husband some gdning. exp. ability milk hse. cow advantage. Wife help in hse. 3 hrs. dly. Nice furnishd. cottage, free milk and £4 10s. 0d. per wk. Norfolk-Suffolk borders. Box 185.

BUILDING TRADESMEN (only) reqd. for bomb damage repairs in North and South London. Stewart and Richards, Ltd. and Shand (Builders), Ltd., 34 Glenhurst Ave., N.W.5. (Gul. 2065.)

WANTED Resident asst. cook. Burgess Hill School, 11, Oak Hill Park, Hampstead, N.W.3.

RESIDENT WARDEN-COOK-Housekeeper (Woman) reqd. for small London hostel. Interested international activities. Mod. sal. Box 187.

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"FARMING LADDER"—a lower rung available to youth 15-17. Write in first instance giving some infmt. and attractions of frming. career to Hale, Bough Frm., Burwash Common, Sussex.

GOOD HOME and £1 p.w. offered responsible person in doctor's hse. Help reqd. with domestic and/or surgery duties. Live as family and every consideration shown. Good refs. reqd. but offences due sticking to pacifist ideals ignored and admired. Dr. Clark, Fairway, Broadwater Grn., Worthing.

SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED CONTINENTAL GIRL seeks full-time occupation in Welfare Centre or Organization. Fluent French, English, German. Willing to travel. Box 186.

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INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday, 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders books, prepares Profit and Loss Accounts, Balance Sheets and Income Tax Returns. Company formations arranged. Audits and costing undertaken. Box 96.

NATURE CURE—Psychological & Drugless Treatment of Disease by Reginald Bailey, Psychiatrist, Nerve-Specialist and Bates Practitioner (eyesight corrected by natural methods); Daisy E. Bailey, Specialist in Women's ailments and Children's complaints; Reg. J. Bailey, Osteopath, Naturopath. Consultation by appt.—bedridden patients visited and postal advice given. Details and explanatory pamphlets sent on request. 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. Palmers Green 7868.

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

verse and ill-hidden satisfaction the incredible poverty and haggardness of the visitors from the East." (Economist, Oct. 27.)

"Explain away and expose this superficial, empty petit-bourgeois German culture!" cries Mr. Kalinin. It will take some doing.

Double deadlock

EVENTS are moving swiftly. The speed is significant: for the tempo is the tempo of pre-war crisis: but this is after war. To the open political breakdown of the London Conference is now added the deadlock in the economic negotiations between USA and Britain. Within six months of VE day, the United Nations are far more deeply divided than they were before the war. Which is the visible demonstration of the thesis urged so often in these pages that this war has been merely the intensification of the pre-war anarchy. Two of the five grand competitors in the universal all-against-all have been knocked out. Instantly the two big ones turn on the weaker third: which this time is ourselves. Britain now steps into Germany's shoes.

Pre-war equivocation

BEFORE the war the attitude of the British Government to Germany was an unstable combination of political acquiescence and economic opposition. Politically, it regarded Germany as "the bulwark against Bolshevism"; economically, as a dangerous revolutionary — for its "autarky" and its barter system. (How little it, or anybody else, really cared about the fate of the Jews, or the German democrats, is shown by its attitude towards them now.)

Now, Britain is to the USA as pre-war Germany was to Britain. It is become the dangerous and revolutionary nation, economically, because like Germany it has no choice but to become an economic outlaw—to break away from the strangulation of international trade based on "sound currency." Politically, USA acquiesces in Britain, as Britain did in Germany. In fact, Britain has inherited Hitler's mission—to create a new European order: only it has to build it out of the rubble to which it so pertinaciously helped to reduce Europe, and with half Europe gone to Communism, and the other half sick to death.

'Stalemate' on the left

THERE is (as I have indicated) not much comfort to be had from the French election results. True, they indicate an overwhelming majority for a leftward policy. But when we have said that, have we said anything? The Communists are at daggers drawn with the Catholic Democrats of the MRP, whom they accuse of harbouring "Petainists and reactionaries." The Socialists are deeply divided in themselves between their democracy which unites them with MRP, their anti-clericalism which links them with the Communists and altogether governed by the fear of being outbidden by the Communists. The story of the Popular Front looks like being repeated at a deeper level of disintegration.

Though the haute bourgeoisie is lying low, it is still there, with its hands on the financial controls. The gulf between rich and poor—between those who can live from the black market and those who barely subsist on the rations—is wider than ever; it is terrifying. "We have returned to our egos," said a Frenchwoman bitterly, contrasting the exaltation of liberation and the ensuing reality. How much depends on our not doing the same!

Corrective on France

DR. HOWARD KERSHNER supplies a valuable corrective to our view of France. He confirms the terrible apathy, but he insists that the cause is at least as much physical as moral. France is suffering from five years of malnutrition.

That excuses France; but still more it condemns de Gaulle. In such a situation to have devoted nearly one-half the national income of France to rearmament, in the first year of liberation, was an enormity.

The moral falsity by which national reconstruction is perverted into a revival of militarism, and the exhausted body of France is bled still further to animate the ghost of La Gloire, may well be the cause of the collapse of democracy in Western Europe.

Laurence Housman's 'shop' opens



Photo: Jack Mayes

A group of directors, staff and friends at the opening of Housman's. Left to right: Eileen Ager, Hugh Fausset, Patrick Figgis, Gilbert (manager), Henry Rutland, Laurence Housman, Llewellyn Kiek, Geoffrey Trefor Davies and Irene Barclay.

LAST weekend was crowded with pacifist events. On the Friday Housman's was opened (see photo above and story in col. 4). On the Saturday the Dick Sheppard Anniversary Gathering was held.

A summary of Donald Port's speech at the Friends House meeting is held over owing to pressure on space.

"THE one mood to avoid is that which says 'I told you so.' Our future depends on making common cause with all men of goodwill."

This was the advice given to the pacifist movement by Dr. Alex Wood, Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, at the meeting held after the Dick Sheppard Anniversary Gathering at Friends House, London, on Saturday last.

Dr. Donald Soper, who took the chair, recalled the early days of the Peace Army—"when, for lack of soldiery, I was on the staff." We were now discernibly at new crossroads, but he still felt able to commend the rightness—as distinct from the narrowness—of the path they had trodden. They were on solid ground in recognizing war as the supreme expression of men's disobedience.

But it remained useless merely to profess a renunciatory creed. In the next few years only a realistic attitude towards political and economic issues could command priority. Justice was the only possible basis for peace and any programme for peace would need to be re-interpreted in its terms.

Sketching the history of the pacifist movement since its tension over Spain,

'LIBERATION'-FOR US!

WE are glad to announce that Peace News is again available from newsagents. After 5½ years of exclusion from trade circulation the National Association of Wholesale Newspaper Distributors have withdrawn their objection to handling the paper.

A substantial trial order from W. H. Smith and Sons for their bookstalls gives us an encouraging start and we now depend on all our supporters to build up a widespread demand.

Ask your newsagent to order two or three copies to be prominently shown in his shop. Assure him it usually sells "on sight," but that you will be responsible for any left over at the end of the week. It may not be long before he will take a regular supply without your guarantee. If he has difficulty in getting them send us his, and his wholesaler's address.

BUT please continue taking your own copy from the present supplier unless asked to change over to a newsagent.

Much of the organization and income of our movement is now closely linked with Peace News distribution and we are anxious that those who have so generously borne the brunt of the work during the war years shall have a guiding hand in future local policy.

Dr. Alex Wood asked them to admit that they had all made mistakes. Their attitude to ARP had been one of impetuous denunciation, and they had tended to overlook the dynamic evil of Hitlerism and to appear as its apologists. Pacifism had been represented as altogether too easy.

He had never found it possible to withhold admiration from those who, believing that the alternative was inaction, had chosen action in the face of evil.

For their part, they had rejected war for either or both of two reasons: because it was politically disastrous or because it was morally indefensible. Science had made the processes of war ever more remote and irresponsible. The separation between the agent and the deed made it possible for kindly people to conceal from themselves the effect of their actions. His friends on sub-atomic research would have been personally quite incapable of carrying out directly the destruction of a city.

One of our most important needs to-day was a common faith. We must re-think our philosophy to find what Christians had in common with others of goodwill. There was a very large area in common: its discovery and exploration was urgent. Political arrangement could do a great deal—if behind them lay personal conviction.

Bill for release of "conditional" C.O.s

A BILL to provide for the release of conditionally registered CO's before the end of the emergency was presented in the Commons on Oct. 26. This follows pressure upon the Ministry of Labour by the Central Board for CO's over many months. It is the National Service (Release of Conscientious Objectors) Bill.

The Bill to be discussed provides that at any time after the date fixed for completing the release of officers and other ranks from the Forces on the basis of age plus length of service, the Ministry of Labour may "direct" that any conditionally registered CO who would be in the same group on the basis of his age and the length of time since he was conditionally registered shall between four and six weeks after the direction is given be released from his condition.

When a CO is released from his condition the effect will be the same as if he had been registered unconditionally by the Tribunals. Nevertheless, there is a saving clause allowing COs to be referred back to the Tribunal after they have been released if the recall to the Colours of the equivalent Army group is necessary. The COs affected could then be conditionally registered again. It is, of course, highly unlikely that this power would be exercised.

"I feel rather like a hen who has mothered an egg not of her own laying—and hatched a duckling. I shall not seek to control it, but merely chuck good advice from the shore. And if the duckling replies 'Quack!' I shall only hope that it is not meant in a derogatory personal sense."

SO said Laurence Housman at the opening ceremony last Friday of the Shaftesbury Avenue Bookshop which bears his name, and which is part of the PPU's tribute to a stalwart and eminent sponsor on his 80th birthday. He had first touched fame, he said, some years ago, when he noticed that a Trafalgar Square pavement artist had placed a caricature portrait of him "alongside the most famous man in England then—Thomas Farr, the prize-fighter."

But it had passed. And only now would his name be known to the man in the street—without ever reading his books. In this new venture he had first imposed a condition that all his own books were to be stocked. From that he would now release them.

Herbert Read hoped that Housman's would prove a "selective" bookshop, displaying books appropriate to their neighbours—an arrangement which delighted the booklover and was rare in the commercial bookshop.

Kingsley Martin added his good wishes to the venture. There was an immense public interest in books, and he was encouraged to hear that the manager of Housman's was being given a free hand, for there could be no greater mistake than to create a specifically "pacifist" bookshop.

Hugh Fausset said that as a book-reviewer he was a kind of bookseller's assistant, and he suspected that the good bookseller, like the good reviewer, depended on perceptive self-effacement to create an atmosphere of ease.

Messages of good wishes were received from John Middleton Murry, Dr. Alex Wood, and others.

FOOTNOTE.—The first "outside" enquirer at Housman's was an American army officer. The first sale was an omnibus Shakespeare. And the next visitor was a sergeant-pilot from Southern Rhodesia. By early afternoon Housman's, which is just round the corner from Cambridge Circus, was launched on a catholic and cosmopolitan career.

ORDER PLEASE

PPU Bookshop ask that all orders for books and pamphlets should now be addressed to Messrs. Housman's, 124 Shaftesbury Avenue, W.1.

★ Public ★ MEETING

AT CONWAY HALL 6.30 p.m. Nov. 7 to DEMAND AMNESTY for conscientious objectors, political prisoners, offenders against military discipline, who are still in prison

CHAIRMAN FENNER BROCKWAY

Speakers: STUART MORRIS GEORGE ORWELL GEORGE PADMORE PHILIP SANSON ERNEST SILVERMAN and others

Organized by the Freedom Defence Council

COME TO CAXTON HALL

Public Meeting (Courtroom)

Speakers: HUMPHREY MOORE HUGH SCHONFIELD

Subject: THE WORLD TRAGEDY AND WORLD REMEDY

Saturday, November 10, 7.15 p.m.

COME TO CAXTON HALL

World Peace and Europe's Needs

CLIMAX OF PEACE WEEK IN THE PROVINCES PUBLIC MEETING

at FRIENDS' HOUSE EUSTON ROAD, N.W.1 Sun., Nov. 4, 3 p.m.

Chairman: Lady Parmoor

SPEAKERS: SYBIL THORNDIKE VERA BRITAIN STUART MORRIS

The team of speakers returned from the tour will also be present Admission Free

PEOPLES' PEACE CRUSADE OF THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

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